



Kibbutz

A cooperative in a Prozesse of Change

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URBAN MUTATIONS ON THE EDGE

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The KIBBUTZ

Processes of Changes

The Kibbutz was conceived as an egalitarian community established in Israel in order to realize a system of values which included an emphasis on equality and participatory democracy in its economic as well as political institutions. Since it is an open society that forms an inseparable part of the society around it and not a closed sect committed to unchangeable codes, the kibbutz, throughout the hundred years of its existence, has displayed an openness to trends of change that have been implemented in practice in the architecture of the settlements. Existing areas have taken on new roles, functions have been changed in order to respond to changing needs, and in every sphere both planned and improvised solutions have been implemented while blending into the region. The secret of the flexibility of the kibbutz settlement derives from these qualities - the mobility of elements in an open space without the enforced yoke of categories of proprietorship or use, the vitality of the common public space, the preservation of a balance between the private and the public domains, and most importantly the preservation of the community's sovereignty in the framework of a broad and dynamic movement.

Since the late 1980 because of economics problems which have led to major social and ideological changes. Basic kibbutz principles and values have been questioned, shifted the emphasis from the group to the individual thus also leading to an erosion in the status and value of the Kibbutz and of the kibbutz member. The transition from agriculture to industrial and post industrial eras displaces the land and the connection to the land from their central status. The primary aim of this study is to observe the process of changing and how it was effected the physical planning of the Kibbutz, and to analyze the planning strategy which preserves on one hand the spatial values, but at the same time propose to revitalize the idea of the Kibbutz while adapting it to the ideological and economic changes it is undergoing today.

Social and Economic Changes

During the past 25 years the kibbutzim have been undergoing far-reaching changes, signs of which are also discernible in their architectural and spatial organization. In the wake of the tremendous changes in the society around them, the political upheaval, and the increasing influence of too-liberal conceptions in Israeli society, the kibbutzim have been constrained to respond in ways that are changing their character fundamentally. (1)

The crisis led to the phenomenon of many of the young generation leaving the kibbutz because they saw no future in kibbutz life. The demographic dwindling and the aging of the community living in the kibbutz, together with a profound economic crisis that brought many of them to the verge of bankruptcy, caused many kibbutzim to plan „expansion neighborhoods“ adjacent or in close proximity to the kibbutz. (2)

The dynamics of economic and social change engendered a process of adapting the spatial layout of older kibbutzim to the changes in the way of life. Both the physical structure of the kibbutz layout and the social and legal structure of the kibbutz were sufficiently flexible to allow changes in the physical arrangements. The decline in the importance of the social center and of the costumer services area as a result of the responsibility for some of the communal activities being transferred to the family necessitated a rethinking of the right location for the

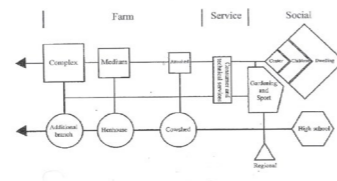


Figure 3.41: Hierarchy of activities in a modern kibbutz layout

Diagram of hierarchy



Photo of the dining hall

communal service functions. Being surrounded by land allocated to other uses, the social center and the children's areas had limited development possibilities, a fact that not infrequently led to a division of the education area and the creation of secondary social centers. The transition to family sleeping shifted the center of gravity of the children's activities to the residential area, which called for rethinking in the planning of the education area. In the residential area that had developed in a semi-circular layout around the social center, the access radius increased beyond the 200-300 meters optimal for pedestrian access. The ageing of the kibbutz society and the increase in the relative proportion of the older population called for attention to the phenomena that had created the paradoxes of the location of the rings of residences and population.

New solutions were required for the residential area, solutions that increased the density and expressed the shift in the balance of activity in favor of the residential area. The main entry road to the kibbutz center was cut by a large number of secondary roads connecting the production and service centers directly to the main road, creating a large number of intersections along it, and constitute traffic hazard. (3)

OLD MODEL IN A NEW REALITY

Now days there are New Trends in Planning the Kibbutz Layout and new settlements that would suit the way of life of the kibbutz of the nineties, the kibbutz movement attempted to learn from past mistakes and to be attentive to the changing conditions. When adapting the old model to the new reality, several fundamental problems were encountered. The production zone near the social center and the residences constituted an ecological nuisance, because the only partition between this zone and the social zone was a decorative avenue of trees, the remnant of the original green belt. The changes in the kibbutz's economic structure, which included the strengthening of industry and manufacture at the expense of agriculture, necessitated reorganization of the production zone. The increase in motorization lessened the need for physical proximity between the social and the farm' zones. The consumer area developing along the entry road to the kibbutz became a blot on the landscape.



urbain radiocentrique plan

A New MODEL

The new model of the kibbutz layout draws its sources from the old model and its basic principles. The new model institutionalizes the spontaneous change that occurred over the years in the layouts of the older kibbutzim, and proposes improvements based on forecasts of development directions in kibbutz society and economy. We took the example of the new kibbutz Sufa. The schematic diagram describes the prototype of the new kibbutz settlement layout. The first planning principle of the new model is the division of the kibbutz layout into two zones - the social zone and the farm zone, as in the traditional layout. The two zones touch only at a limited area, to prevent ecological disturbances between them. The axes of development of the two zones are in opposed directions. (4)

The social center serves as a nucleus for the social zone, and is situated at the geometric center of the kibbutz layout, as in the historical scheme. There is no institutionalized green belt between the social and farm zones, but a broad strip of land is kept in reserve physically separating the two zones. The social zone contains three sub-zones: the kibbutz's social center, the education area and the residential area. The social center contains the dining hall, culture buildings, administration and a number of consumer functions that require maximal accessibility from the residential areas and do not constitute an ecological nuisance. Many of

2. Change in the kibbutz population (1910-1992)

Year	Number of settlements	Population	Yearly increase (%)
1910	1	11	
1920	12	809	
1930	28	3,877	
1940	82	36,554	
1950	214	82,518	
1960	229	77,985	
1970	228	85,660	
1980	235	111,200	
1991	249	133,700	2.2
1992	249	116,000	2.0
1993	267	117,000	4.8
1994	268	122,700	4.1
1995	268	125,200	2.0
1996	268	126,000	0.6
1997	268	127,000	0.7
1998	272	126,000	-0.7
1999	270	124,000	-0.1
1990	270	125,000	0.4
1991	270	129,200	3.4
1992	269	126,000	-0.2

Source: Beken, 14

Changes of population

the consumer functions that were traditionally situated in the central area have disappeared from the kibbutz scene or have been transferred to the farm zone. The education area is adjacent to the central area and is surrounded by a residential area as in the traditional scheme. The kibbutz plans maintain that the transition to family sleeping does not affect the layout of the education area because the children's daily activities will continue to be conducted there. There are some reservations about this declaration, and it is probable that in the future the children's area will be reduced in size and its character will change. In order to make the plan's goals achievable, This necessity to draw up a new physical plan (a re-planning) of the existing settlement, while expanding its built area in line with the planning principles determined by the planning authorities for planned rural settlements and in line with the prevailing planning laws.

In the renewed kibbutzim in general the expansion and ascription processes have been implemented, they have led to destruction of the unique fabric of the kibbutz habitat. Fences began appearing between the residential houses; the space that until then had been protected from vehicular traffic was expropriated from pedestrians and cyclists and conquered by motorized vehicles; the modest residential buildings were unrecognizably expanded by members whose economic situation enabled them to afford this; the public space in some of the kibbutzim became deserted and neglected, and in many kibbutzim the dining halls, culture houses, theaters, and clubhouses were shut down; many other public buildings, are now unused and abandoned; the kibbutz garden, which was one of the major distinguishing marks of the entire kibbutz space, stands neglected. The parceling and the introduction of roads into the heart of the kibbutz habitat are threatening the continue physical existence of the kibbutzim as one of the most original and important social and architectural creations in 20th-century modernism.(5)

Spatial Development

The residential area in the renewed kibbutzim spreads out in a 270÷ angle around the center, a change from the traditional semi-circle. This fan-shaped layout around the center was made possible by the distancing of the bulk of the farm zone from the social zone. A boader layout of the residential area, accompanied by an increased density of units, will make it possible to preserve a radius of 200-300 meters from the center as recommended in the traditional scheme. Adjacent to the social center and the education area there is a reserve of land for future expansion of both. This land is kept in reserve for unforeseen social functions stemming from social changes or the rising standard of living. It may be utilized for residences for ageing members, for homes for members parents, for infirmaries, clubs, and so on. To a certain extent this reserve land may diminish the acuteness of the age and access paradoxes for the elderly population. It will also be a gurantee that no secondary center will arise in the kibbutz layout, thus preserving the uniqueness of the social center.

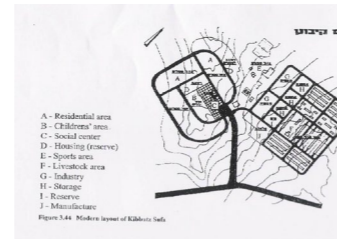
The residential area is planned as a cluster of buildings among a hierarchy of public and semi-public private spaces. This approach differs from the traditional building approach, which created identical and unmediated relations between the residential buildings and the open public areas. although pedestrian access remains the principal means of circulation. The system of pedestrian routes is shaped by the cluster of residential buildings, planned in a hierarchy of private paths and secondary and them primary walking routes leading to the center.(6) The high school and sports areas are planned to be situated between the social and farm zones, as a connecting link between them. A separate route links this area to the main entry road. The consumer area is divided into two parts, one in the social center and the[other in the production area – as in the traditional model. Activities that require maximal access and that do not constitute ecological nuisances are located in the social zone, while activities that do not require daily

Table 2.3
Immigration and Emigration

Years	New members	Change	Leavers	Change	Balance
1981	5,800	100.0	3,154	100.0	846
1982	5,385	92.8	3,396	108.6	-813
1983	5,629	97.1	5,631	109.3	-200
1984	6,901	119.0	5,390	104.6	1,511
1985	4,989	86.0	4,968	96.4	21
1986	4,936	85.5	5,225	110.7	-289
1987	4,506	77.6	6,315	122.9	-1,809
1988	4,500	77.5	7,400	143.6	-2,900
1989	4,000	68.9	6,700	129.9	-2,700
1990	5,600	95.1	7,200	139.6	-1,600
Total	52,046		60,289		-8,243

Source: Lavin, J. (1993): 58

Immigration and emigration



Plan of a kibbutz type

Table 2.1
Kibbutz and Population Growth

Years	Kibbutzim	Population
1910	1	11
1920	12	800
1930	29	9,000
1940	62	26,500
1950	214	67,500
1960	229	77,000
1970	229	85,000
1980	255	111,000
1990	292	125,000

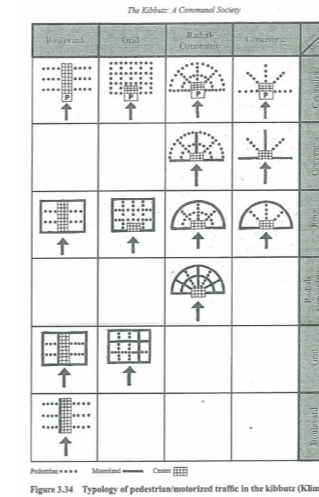
Source: Meron, 1992

Population growth

Table 7.6
Widespread Changes in the Kibbutz Movement

Strains and changes	Number of kibbutzim (Total=34)	Total recurrence of changes in sample of kibbutzim
Provision		
Provision of consumption goods	29	74
Provision of children's budget	26	
Provision of domestic electricity	19	
Management		
Using by individuals	27	47
Board of directors to control finances	20	
Insertion		
Subsidized meals for kibbutz children	18	76
Boarding with outside the kibbutz	24	
Daycare for non-kibbutz children	22	
Other		
Flexibility in integrating newcomers	21	
Provision of budgets of meals abroad	21	117
Subsidized meals in the kibbutz	21	
Assigning a special room for changes	22	
Abolishing local kibbutz school	32	
Grand total of widespread changes (out of 639)		313

Actors in movement



typology of traffic in the kibbutz

access and do constitute ecological nuisances are located in the production area. Technical services and storage facilities are located in the production area part of the consumer area.

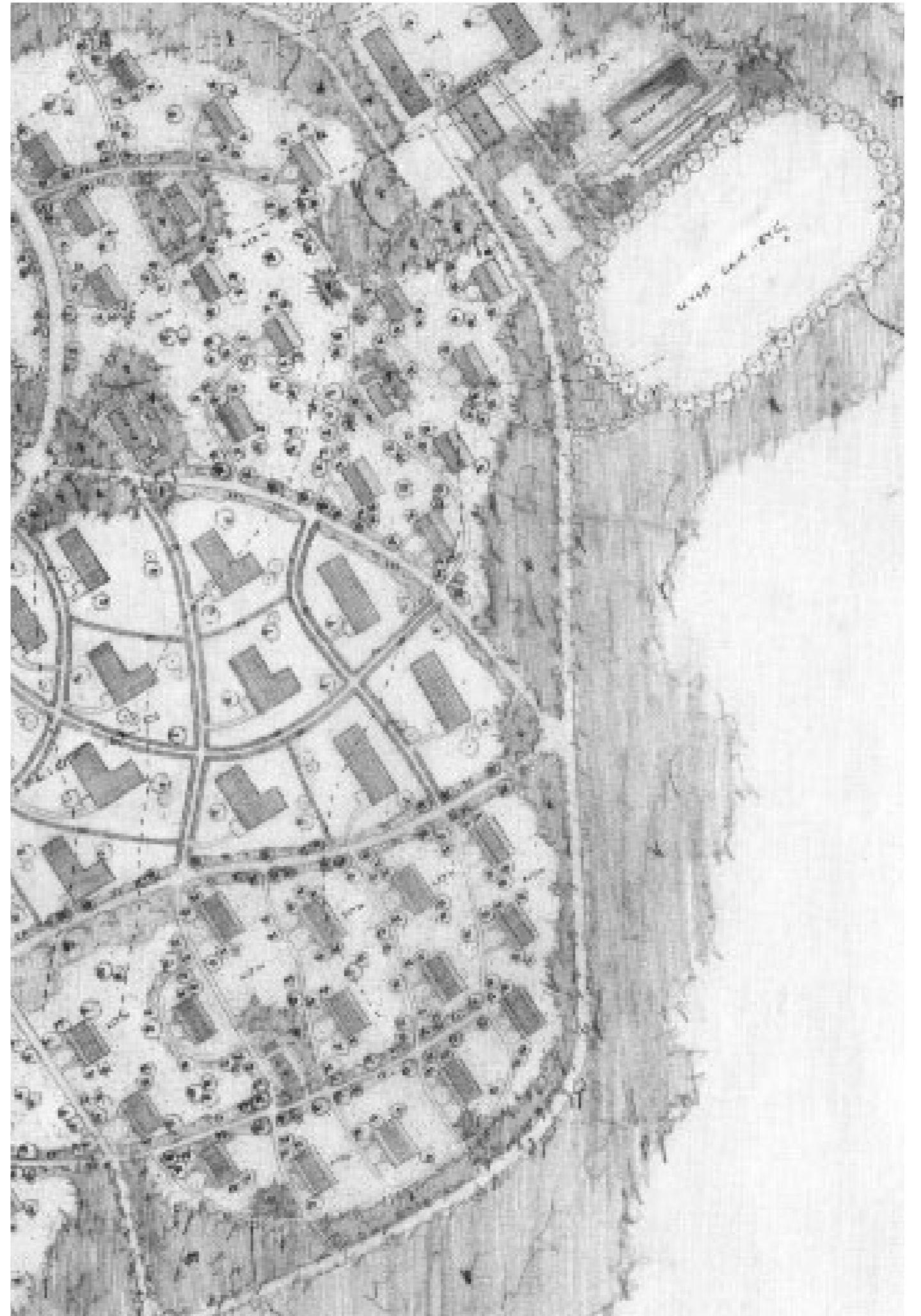
New organization and management concepts are employed in the planning of the farm zone in order to increase the efficiency of work processes and land utilization through a clear division among the areas allotted to agriculture, workshops and industry, storage and technical services. Criteria of accessibility and ecological disturbance help to determine the location of the farm zone activities. Industry, which in the traditional scheme is relegated to the outskirts of the farm zone, is brought back to the area adjacent to the workshops and the livestock pens on condition that it provides employment for the older population, does not cause ecological pollution, or require large arcs of land. In cases where regional plants are adjacent to the kibbutz, they are located near the kibbutz's production area. The road leading from the national throughfare to the kibbutz divides into two or three branches, one leading to the social zone, one to the farm zone, and the third to the high school and sports area. The road network in the production area is planned in such a way so as to enable access for supply for all of the activities. The road leading to the social zone ends at a public parking area not far from the dining hall that remains the main polyvalent form of space in this specific urban tissue .(7)

Conclusion

The prevalent, mythological, image of the kibbutz as a green and garden space, with pedestrian paths extending from its center (the dining hall area, the central lawn, and the other public buildings) to the members houses, is what is currently, a discussion that stems from recognition of the danger of the extinction and the disappearance of its unique qualities from the Israeli landscape.

Many of the discussions center on issues of preservation of buildings and complexes, such as the first production zone buildings, public buildings, security structures, etc. This approach assumes that the kibbutzim, as a unique settlement type in the Israeli landscape, are in most cases destined to disappear, and that it is therefore necessary to conserve them by preserving the objects that are essential to their public image. In opposition to this, there are others who maintain that it is pointless to preserve objects as things dissociated from their context and devoid of content, and that the right way to conserve the kibbutz settlement project is through archival documentation, without physical preservation of iconic complexes or buildings.

For architects this is a most significant moment, in which their inventiveness and originality are put to the test Can there be a third way, a way that does not preserve the kibbutzim of the past as they were, and at the same time takes into account the radical changes being experienced by the renewed kibbutzim, and that on this background manages to preserve the basic qualities of the kibbutz space in its new role as a community welfare system. This reorganization seeks to create a space of social cohesion and solidarity - an essentially hybrid multi-generational, multi-functional space, and to infuse new content into the many public and community buildings and the high-quality public spaces that remain in place in the kibbutzim without appropriate use. The combination of this hybrid character with the planning flexibility that the kibbutz habitat is a distinctive space of pedestrians and cyclists has created a model of sustainable life that is exceptional in its originality, and that can serve as a model and an exemplar for ecological settlement. The sharp transition to the suburban model is erasing a large portion of the kibbutz's spatial accomplishments in favor of a model that many people in the world today repudiating.



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